

1970

Racial Attitudes of High School Students Attending Desegregated Schools in a Southern Metropolitan Area.

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71-3424

MARTINEZ-MONFORT, Antonio, 1944-
RACIAL ATTITUDES OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS
ATTENDING DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS IN A
SOUTHERN METROPOLITAN AREA.

The Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College,
Ph.D., 1970
Psychology, general

University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan

RACIAL ATTITUDES OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS
ATTENDING DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS IN A SOUTHERN METROPOLITAN AREA

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of Psychology

by

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M.A., Louisiana State University, 1967
May, 1970

Acknowledgments

The writer wishes to express his gratitude to the many individuals without whose thoughtful advice, generous comments, and wise guidance the creation of the present paper would have been virtually impossible:

To Mr. Wade Mackie, Executive Director of the American Friends Service Committee in Baton Rouge; Mrs. Susan Deicker, school teacher at a desegregated school in Baton Rouge; Dr. Dupuy Anderson, a prominent Black citizen of our community and to all the others that collaborated with the author in contacting the students.

To Dr. James Oliver, Dean of the Graduate School at the University of Southwestern Louisiana, for providing the models and making possible the production of the slides.

To Mrs. Marian C. Reynard, Dr. Ralph M. Dreger, Mr. Harold Coco, Mrs. Ann Goodrich, Mr. Michael Levine, and Mr. Ronald Gardner for serving as judges in the slide selection.

To the Graduate Research Council for allocating funds for the present investigation.

To the Louisiana State University Computer Research Center for analyzing the data.

To the members of the examining committee, Dr. Walfrid J. Jokinen, Mrs. Marian C. Reynard, Dr. Jack G. Lappe, Dr. Joseph G. Dawson, Dr. Virginia B. Glad.

Special thanks are owed to: Dr. Ralph Mason Dreger,

Chairman of the examination committee, for his guidance and valuable suggestions; Elizabeth Amiguet Martinez-Monfort, the writer's wife, for her devotion, understanding, and unselfish contributions to the present paper; Mrs. Janice Kampovsky for her typing of the complete manuscript.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the present investigation was to assess the verbal attitudes as well as the deeper non-verbal reactions to desegregated situations of high school students enrolled in desegregated schools.

On the basis of previous research the following assumptions were made:

1. Anxiety can be defined and measured.
2. Racial attitudes of Negro and white students can be assessed.
3. "Formal" situations are those where little or no interaction occurs between the participants, while "informal" situations are those where the participants interact, openly, with each other.
4. Anxiety is generated by "informal" situations.
5. Anxiety in relation to imagined "informal" situations underlies, in part, negative racial attitudes.
6. Anxiety generated by actual or imagined contact in "informal" situations tends to make students avoid such situations.
7. Desegregation refers to objective changes in patterns of school life, while integration is a matter of interaction between people and therefore pertains to subjective changes of intergroup attitudes.

8. Desegregated schools do not permit sufficient exposure to anxiety-provoking "informal" situations to bring about resolution of the anxiety.
9. Vicarious "formal" and "informal" slide situations are parallel to the imagined "formal" and "informal" situations postulated in previous assumptions.

Considering the above assumptions the following hypotheses were set forth:

Hypothesis I. There will be a significant difference between the racial attitudes of high school students with two years or less of experience in desegregated schools and the racial attitudes of students with three years or more.

Hypothesis II. Physiological indicators of anxiety will be significantly greater in number when students are confronted vicariously with "informal" racial contact school situations than with "formal" situations.

Hypothesis III. Physiological indicators of anxiety will bear a positive relation to the amount of experience a student has had in a desegregated school situation.

Hypothesis IV. Negro girls will tend to respond with more physiological indicators of anxiety than will Negro boys when responding to vicarious "informal" situations.

Hypothesis V. High school students when confronted with "formal" and "informal" slides will show an increase in anxiety, state variety.

It was anticipated that the null form of Hypothesis I, III and IV would be sustained.

The subjects were 64 high school students of both sexes (32 white, 32 Negro) enrolled in desegregated schools, public and private, in the Baton Rouge area. Half of the students had two years or less of experience in desegregated schools and half had three years or more of experience. The subjects, selected by employing a wide variety of recruiting methods including advertisements in the news media, were payed for their participation in the research.

The subjects were first administered several questionnaires and paper-and-pencil anxiety scales after which they were confronted, individually, with the vicarious slide situations while their physiological reactions to ghe slides were recorded. Once this was completed they were given again a paper-and-pencil anxiety scale in addition to racial attitude scales to assess their attitudes toward Negroes and whites.

The hypotheses postulated were tested by utilizing several factorial designs and the results were as follows:

Hypothesis I was rejected and the null form accepted

Hypothesis II was accepted

Hypothesis III was rejected and the null form accepted

Hypothesis IV was rejected

Hypothesis V was rejected and the null form accepted

Consequently the following conclusions were postulated.

1. There is no significant difference in the cognitive racial attitudes of high school students with two years or less

and three years or more of experience in desegregated schools.

2. Inter-racial contact situations of a "formal" variety produce less amount of emotional reaction than inter-racial contact situations of an "informal" variety.

3. The length of exposure to desegregated schools does not lead to a reduction of racial attitudes held at a deeper feeling level by high school students.

4. Negro students, of both sexes, reacted, emotionally in similar manners to "informal" and "formal" vicarious situations.

5. The state anxiety level of high school students did not vary when they were confronted with the vicarious slide situations.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court handed down a decision outlawing segregation, by race, in public schools in the United States.¹ The Brown decision was welcomed in some parts of the nation while in other areas it was received with bitterness and resentment. Some southern states went so far as to abandon the public school system in order to avoid enforcing the law (Muse, 1964).

Fifteen years have gone by since the Supreme Court handed down the Brown decision. In the time that has elapsed, in spite of the pressure exerted by local and federal courts and by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, school desegregation has remained a dream rather than a reality in some school districts in the United States, especially in some of the southern states. The southern states, because of the deep rooting of segregation of the social system of the south, attempted to nullify the effects of the Supreme Court decision.

Negro slavery was a socially accepted practice in the entire nation up to 1863 when President Lincoln abolished slavery in the Emancipation Proclamation. Thus, in 1863,

¹The May 17, 1954 Supreme Court decision was labeled *Oliver Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*. In the present paper it will be identified as the Brown decision.

the Negro was set free. Nevertheless, he was still treated as in inferior human being not worthy of franchise, education, or civil liberties, especially in the south (Aptheker, 1945). During the Reconstruction Period, social and civil conditions improved for the Negro (Dubois, 1935; Franklin, 1947). However, once Reconstruction was over, the white supremacy doctrine prevailed again. Black codes were passed in eight of the southern states, and the Negro reinstated into his previous servile position (Brawley, 1913; Frazier, 1949). The culmination was the acceptance by the Supreme Court of the segregationist doctrine in 1896 in the case of Plessy v. Ferguson (Harlan, 1958; Ashmore, 1954; Muse, 1963).

Thus, the attitudes white citizens have toward Negroes have been developed across many years, continuing, even with emancipated human beings, the prevailing attitudes during slavery. Social scientists have investigated such attitudes in areas both outside and inside the South. Gregor (1960), Marland (1966), Grossack (1957), and Coles (1963) were some of the investigators who reported studies directly concerned with southern children. Others like Goodman (1952, 1964), Landreth (1963), Helgerson (1943), Horowitz (1936, 1939), Cresswell (1939), Springer (1950), Stevenson and Stevenson (1960), Price (1962), Clark (1939b, 1947, 1949) and Radke, et al (1949) were primarily concerned with areas outside the deep South.

Martinez (1967) called attention to the fact that in the literature on racial and desegregation attitudes,

most of the research was conducted in order to find the racial attitudes of whites toward Negroes. By contrast, hardly any investigator has devoted his effort to the search of the attitudes of Negroes toward whites. Some like Gregor (1960), Grossack (1957), Crockett (1957), and Dwyer (1958) have investigated the attitudes of Negro students toward desegregation more than their attitudes toward whites. Grossack (1957) reported that Negro children were more favorably inclined toward desegregation than white children. In another study on the same topic Gregor (1960), reported that Negro children expressed less negative bias toward white children than the white children toward the Negro children. Dwyer (1958) concluded that Negro girls adjusted more easily to a desegregated situation than Negro boys. At the high school level Crockett (1957) reported findings similar to those obtained by Dwyer at the elementary level. Crockett found that the most prominent factor affecting the decision of Negro high school students to enroll in a desegregated school was the anticipation of hostility by the white students. The Negro boys expected a higher degree of hostility than Negro girls and for this reason Negro boys were less inclined to enter a previously all-white school. Reporting on the college level, Larson et al, (1964) concluded that forty per cent of the white students at the University of Alabama saw the Negro as inferior to whites in intelligence,

ambition, responsibility and morality.

Several studies have been concerned with Negro teacher attitudes and white teacher attitudes toward desegregation. Amos (1955), using a sample of 25 Negro teachers from the District of Columbia, investigated their attitudes toward desegregation by dividing their reported attitudes into five categories. Amos concluded that insecurities about their intellectual inadequacies and fear of rejection by the white community preoccupied them the most. Nevertheless, the Negro teachers were willing to participate in school desegregation programs. Doddy (1955) attempted to identify some of the apprehension toward desegregation held by a group of Negro teachers in South Carolina. Doddy's investigation revealed that Negro teachers were more apprehensive about employment and other rights of Negro teachers. They were more apprehensive about employment than about how they would get along with white students and white school administrators. In general, Doddy concluded that the Negro teachers used in his investigation were not frightened nor extremely anxious about desegregation. Dahlstrom (1955), who studies the white teachers' attitudes, reported that white teachers were ready to accept their role in the desegregation process. However, the white teachers recommended gradualism in the pattern of desegregation beginning at the kindergarten and first grade level.

Social scientists have concentrated a great deal of effort in studying the processes surrounding school desegregation (Williams et al, 1956). Some have investigated the impact of school desegregation at a community level (Hoger, 1957; Tumin, 1956). Others concentrated on the students (Stivson, 1963; Webster, 1961; Vulkan, 1963; Renninger and Williams, 1966; Bernard, 1958; Coles, 1963; Hendman, 1954; Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry Report #37, 1957 and 37a, 1960; Dwyer, 1958; Elliot and Badol, 1965). Some have centered their effort on the teachers (Green, 1962; Martimer, 1958; Doddy, 1955; Mays, 1963) while others on the parents of the students (Luchterhand and Weller, 1965; Wienstein and Geisel, 1962).

Clark (1965), Dwyer (1958), and Coles (1963), among others, found that the lower the age and grade level, the more readily the students adjusted to the process of desegregation and also that there were more cases of interaction between members of both races in the more intimate situations. Dwyer formulated the hypothesis that the smoothness of desegregation at the lower level is due to the fact that at the lower grade level a more informal association takes place. However, Claye (1958) reported that negative attitudes were found among white high school students regardless of their familiarity with Negro students. Claye, however, did not clearly define what he meant by

familiarity with Negro students. Webster (1961) found that interracial contact over a period of six months does not lead toward an improvement of attitudes and social acceptance between both races. Using a pre- and post attitudinal measure he concluded that the six-month interracial contact had a negative effect upon white junior high school students. The white students became significantly less accepting of Negroes by the end of the six month period. By contrast, although the evidence regarding attitudinal changes by Negro students was inconclusive, Webster indicated that Negro students tended to be more accepting of whites.

Investigators dealing with the attitudes of Negro parents toward sending their children to desegregated schools have reported that many Negro parents hesitated to send their children to desegregated schools. Among the reasons given by the Negro parents was the fear that their children might encounter unpleasant circumstances in the desegregated school (William and Ryan, 1954). The type of unpleasant incident most often encountered by Negro students in a desegregated school ranged from overt verbal rudeness to overt physical confrontation (Hindman, 1954; Martinez, 1967).

Psychologists and psychiatrists have been very concerned about the psychological consequences of school desegregation. Some of the studies reported are: Coles (1963); Bernard (1958); Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry (GAP) reports

#37 and 37a (1957, 1960); Stiveson (1963).

Viola Bernard, writing on behalf of the GAP Committee on Social Issues, came to the conclusion that "... enforced desegregation has detrimental effects on personality development and functioning, both for those who impose or condone it, and for those upon whom it is imposed" (Bernard, 1958, p.150)². The purpose of the report presented by the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry was to evaluate the situation created by school desegregation from a psychiatric point of view. Among the conclusions reached by GAP were that the Negro was perceived by the white as a virile and sexually aggressive individual, childish, irresponsible, a little better than a savage animal, and intellectually inferior. It was the belief of GAP that such a myth about Negroes served the purpose of protecting the white's identity of a superior individual.

According to GAP, the way the child reacts when in a desegregated classroom situation depends on his family relationships and attitudes toward desegregation. The parents of the students, both Negro and white, experience certain fears due to the desegregated situation. The white parent

²Bernard was Chairman of the Committee on Social Issues at the time Report #37 (GAP) was drafted. She was also the Editor of Report #37a, Emotional Aspects of School Desegregation (1960), which was an adredged presentation of Report #37, Psychiatric Aspects of School Desegregation (1957).

may fear that the school his child attends will have to lower its academic standards because of the Negro students admitted into the school. He may fear that his child, as well as the family, will lose status in the community if the child attends a desegregated school and that his child will be exposed to what he perceives to be the Negro's moral standards and communicable diseases.

On the Negro parents' side there are worries about the treatment that their children will receive in the new school. Will they be hurt physically or emotionally by the white children? As parents, they fear that they might be subject to humiliation at PTA meetings or other direct or indirect relationships with white parents.

The most intensive study performed with the purpose of assessing the psychological impact of school desegregation was done by Robert E. Coles (1963). Coles' research project covered two years and involved children from two cities, New Orleans and Atlanta. According to Coles,

It is fairly obvious that these children (Negro) are doing things which are new and not always approved. Tension and fear often surround them from the weeks before they enter school through the months of their stay. Their families are under considerable anxiety about them, and about their own lives and jobs. When they are in school they may experience rejection, isolation, or insult. They live under what physicians would consider to be highly stressful circumstances and their adjustment to these strains is of considerable medical interest (Coles, 1963, p.4).

However, as Coles concluded, the majority did indeed survive. In Atlanta and New Orleans only one child had really succumbed to emotional illness.

Coles referred to the fact that during the school year the Negro children showed a variety of medical and psychiatric responses to fear and anxiety.

One child lost his appetite, another became sarcastic and had nightmares. Lethargy may develop or excessive studying may mark the apprehension common to both (Coles, 1963 p.5).

In relation to the white children, Coles stated that none of the white children suffered any medical or psychological damage during the two-year period. He also observed that there seemed to be a change of attitudes of the white children toward their Negro classmates.

Martinez (1967) performed a study with Negro students from the Baton Rouge area with the purpose of delineating some of the emotional disturbances caused by desegregation. He concluded that the experience the Negro students go through in a desegregated school was stressful. They were rewarded academically for their efforts, but emotional and social rewards were not so evident. Depending on the administrations attitude a more or less successful adjustment to the desegregated situation could be expected.

In summary, the Brown decision initiated moves toward desegregation that brought about changes in our social

system. Some of the changes have been analyzed by social scientists. Scientific evidence has been collected and several conclusions can now be attained. First, the status of the Negro in the United States has changed from exclusion, to segregation, to that of attempted desegregation. Second, the Negro has been perceived by many whites as an inferior human being, morally and intellectually. Third, the attitude of many white parents toward desegregation is unfavorable. Fourth, the smoothness of the desegregation progress seems to be dependent upon the attitude of the administration, the teachers, the parents, and the students toward desegregation. Fifth, the lower the grade level, the better the adjustment to the desegregation situation. Sixth, the Negro students in a desegregated school are the victims of annoyances, frustrations, anxiety, group pressure, rejection, and the like due to the fact that they are Negro. Seventh, such annoyances experienced by the Negro students are not incapacitating in most cases. Eighth, there seems to be a greater amount of hostility experienced by Negro boys than by Negro girls in a desegregated school. Ninth, the main factors contributing to the stressful situation, need to be more carefully delineated. Tenth, there is the need for an appraisal of the attitudes of Negro students toward white students.

It is not the purpose of the present investigation to fill all the gaps and needs in the study of the contemporary

school desegregation situation. However, it was its firm intention to assess the verbal attitudes of Negro and white students toward desegregation as well as the deeper non-verbal reactions to desegregation situations. The present investigation deals, more precisely, with racial attitudes and feelings about interracial contact of high school students enrolled in desegregated schools in a deep-south metropolitan area.

CHAPTER II

ASSUMPTIONS

On the basis of previous research several assumptions were made for purposes of the present investigation.

First, anxiety can be defined and measured. Martin, (1961) in his review of the assessment of anxiety for the Psychological Bulletin, indicated that observable responses from which one might indicate the presence of anxiety are of two basic types:

1. Physiological-behavioral responses
2. Self-reported responses

Martin concluded that the construct of anxiety is similar to that of fear. The neurophysiological bases are not completely known, but it seems to involve functions of the posterior hypothalamus and its effect upon the sympathetic nervous system, and adrenal medulla and the pituitary adrenocortical system.

Although similar neurophysiological mechanisms are involved in anger and other emotions like fear and pain, several investigators have stated that anxiety can be differentiated physio-behaviorally from other emotions (Ax, 1953; Funkenstein, Dralette, King, 1957; Schecter, 1957).

Funkenstein et al, (1957) proposed a theory that may serve to provide some integration for the above mentioned

findings. They suggested that the physiological reaction accompanying anger reactions is a norepinephrine-like reaction while that accompanying anxiety is an epinephrine-like reaction. "The secretion of these hormones (epinephrine and norepinephrine) from the adrenal medulla and the release of norepinephrine at the sympathetic nerve ending are all affected by sympathetic nervous system stimulation" (Martin, 1961 p.240). However, Malmo (1959) believes that the activity of the reticular formation is to be held responsible for the expression of anxiety.

In order to measure physio-behaviorally the presence of anxiety, it is necessary to indicate evidence of adreno sympathetic activation (a-s). The rationale is that one cannot be anxious without some sort of physiological involvement (a-s involvement) (Krause, 1961).

Some of the behavioral changes accompanying the dominance of the sympathetic system are: changes in the circulatory system; changes in the gastrointestinal and urinary tracts; changes in the sweat glands activity; and with prolonged stress, the adrenal cortex and its hormones are also stimulated (Morgan, 1965).

Physio-behavioral changes such as respiration changes, changes in the sweat gland activity and changes in the circulatory system that can be attributed to the presence of anxiety or other related emotions produced by the activation

of the sympathetic system can be measured by delicate instruments such as the Keeler's Polygraph.

For the purposes of this investigation anxiety, in addition to being assessed through physio-behavioral responses by the use of the Keeler polygraph, was also measured according to self-reported responses by employing a paper-and-pencil anxiety scale, the Self Analysis Questionnaire.

Second, racial attitudes of both Negro and white high school students can be assessed.

Third, for the purpose of the present investigation a difference between "formal" and "informal" situations was postulated. "Formal" situations are those in which the participants do not engage in personal conversation within or outside the classroom, in which the participants do not give signs of friendly interpersonal relations by laughing or joking with persons of the opposite race, and in which physical contact of a voluntary nature is absent. By contrast, "informal" situations are those in which participants engaged in friendly interpersonal relations manifested by personal conversations, walking together, laughing and joking together, sitting together in rooms on a non-assigned basis, eating together, and/or activities involving voluntary physical contact.

Fourth, anxiety is generated by "informal" racial contact situations.

Fifth, anxiety in relation to imagined "informal" situations underlies, in part, negative racial attitudes.

Sixth, anxiety generated by actual or imagined contact in "informal" situations tends to make students avoid such situations.

Seventh, the distinction made by Bernard (1958) between integration and desegregation that reads as follows: "Desegregation refers to objective behavioral changes in patterns of school life. Integration, on the other hand, is a matter of interaction between people and therefore pertains to subjective changes of intergroup attitude" (Bernard, 1958, p.150) is maintained in the present investigation. In addition, as it is obvious from the above definition, integration is equated with "informal" situations and desegregation with "formal" situations.

Eighth, desegregated schools do not permit sufficient exposure to anxiety-provoking "informal" situations to bring about resolution of the anxiety which sustains negative attitudes.

Ninth, vicarious "formal" and "informal" slide situations are parallel to the imagined "formal" and "informal" situations postulated in previous assumptions.

CHAPTER III

HYPOTHESES

On the basis of previous research and previous assumptions, several hypotheses were set forth.

First, there will be a significant difference between the racial attitudes of high school students with two years or less of experience in desegregated schools and the racial attitudes of students with three years or more in desegregated schools. It is anticipated that the null form of this hypothesis will be sustained.

Second, physiological indicators of anxiety will be significantly greater in number when students are confronted vicariously with "informal" racial contact school situations than with "formal" situations.

Third, physiological indicators of anxiety will bear a positive relation to the amount of experience a student has had in a desegregated school situation. It is again anticipated that the null form of this hypothesis will be sustained.

Fourth, Negro girls will tend to respond with more physiological indicators of anxiety than will Negro boys when responding to vicarious "informal" situations.

Fifth, high school students when confronted with "formal" and "informal" slides will show an increase in anxiety, state variety, as measured by the Self Analysis Questionnaire. It is anticipated that the null form of this hypothesis will be sustained.

CHAPTER IV

METHOD

Experimenters

There are several experiments which show that different experimenters obtain from their comparable subjects significantly different responses (Rosenthal, 1962). However, the veracity of such findings have been questioned by Barber and Silver in a recent review article in the Psychological Bulletin (Barber and Silver, 1968).

Among the many different characteristics of the experimenter that may affect the response of the subject Cantril (1944) and Williams (1964) identified the skin color of the experimenter as a significant variable. However, the effect that the race of the experimenter has on the subject's response varies according to the type of research and further, not all types of responses are equally affected (Williams and Cantril, 1945).

For the survey research situation Hyman et al, (1954) concluded that Negro subjects tended to respond in a more "proper" or favorable manner when the interviewer was white than when the interviewer was Negro. Additional data of this type was presented by Summers and Hammonds (1965). Just as Negro respondents tended to say the "proper" thing more often to a white interviewer, Hammonds and Summers indicated that white respondents tended to say the "proper" thing to Negro data collectors.

When the response investigated is physiological, the race of the experimenter may affect that response, though the race effect on physiological responses is poorly understood and has not been intensively studied (Rosenthal, 1967). Rankin and Campbell (1955) showed that the galvanic skin response of white subjects varied as a result of the experimenter's race. If the experimenter was Negro, the galvanic skin response increased. By contrast, Bernstein (1965) reported that basal skin impedance was higher when the experimenter was white rather than Negro regardless of the subject's race. Bernstein used only one experimenter of each race and consequently his conclusions are limited.

In view of the potential significance of the experimenter's effect a brief description of the experimenters involved in the present investigation follows:

There were two experimenters involved. Experimenter A was a tall dark-skinned male in his mid-twenties. Experimenter B, the wife of experimenter A, was a petite, white female in her early twenties. Both experimenters, to whom English is their second language, were born and reared in Latin American countries (Cuba and Puerto Rico), countries whose population has been racially mixed for several generations.

Subjects

The subjects employed in the present investigation were 32 full-time white students and 32 full-time Negro students

from public and private high schools in the Baton Rouge area. The schools represented in the study were: St. Joseph Academy, Redemptorist High School, Robert E. Lee High, Glen Oaks High, Baton Rouge High, Catholic High, and Broadmor High. However, there was a concentration of students from Robert E. Lee High maybe due to the proximity of the school to the University where the study was conducted.

The subjects had to meet the following two requirements in order to be classified as Negro: First, self-identification as a member of the Negroid race, and second, they must have attended an all-Negro school previous to their enrollment in a desegregated school. The same requirements, but in reverse, were employed in the classification of a subject as white, as in example, self-identification as Caucasian, and no previous enrollment in an all-Negro school.

According to Dreger and Miller (1968) one of the independent variables that has been taken into account by investigators when performing racial studies have been "race." However, the great majority of racial studies have failed to define in a more precise and accurate way the attributes that classify an individual as a member of a particular race. In the present investigation the criteria used for race classification were sociological in nature. The self perception as Negro or as white as well as their previous attendance or non-attendance to all-Negro schools were the only requirements that had to be met in order to classify a subject as Negro or white. Those subjects who had attended

an all-Negro school and identified themselves as Negro were classified as Negro, while those who had attended all white schools and identified themselves as white were classified as white.

The subjects were selected by making use of a wide variety of sources. The sources were as follows:

First the majority of white subjects, both male and female, were contacted by requesting voluntary participation, on a pay basis, of high school students from the Baton Rouge area through advertisement in the news media. One advertisement was placed in the local newspaper (Morning Advocate); and another in the Louisiana State University paper (Daily Reveille). Both of the advertisements ran for a period of one week and read as follows:

High schoolers needed for a Psychological
research conducted by Psychology Depart. at
LSU. Make some spending money. Call 343-1330.

Two local radio stations (WXOK and WLCS), whose programming is oriented toward a teenage population, were also selected for placing advertisements. One of the radio stations (WXOK) reaches the Negro community, and the other (WLCS) the white community. The advertisements appeared for several days at high convenient times for high school students to listen (between 4:00 p.m. and 6:00 p.m.).³ The advertisements read as follows:

Attention: High school students, boys and girls
alike... Here is a chance to earn a pocket full
of spending money by aiding the LSU Psychology
Department Research Staff...The work is easy...

³The radio station manager of WXOK recommended such hours as the most suitable for the investigator's purposes.

if you are a teen and have some spare time to make some money, call 343-7330, that is, 343-7330.

Some 300 students and non-students answered the different advertisements in the news media. Experimenter B, who enjoys an excellent command of the English language responded to all the telephone calls. The potential subjects answered a brief questionnaire over the telephone, to determine their suitability as subjects. (Refer to Appendix A for the questionnaire.)

A great percentage of the individuals who answered the advertisements were rejected because of one, or more of the following reasons:

1. Not a full-time student
2. Not a high school student
3. Not enrolled in a high school in the Baton Rouge area
4. Not enrolled in a desegregated school.⁴

Once the potential subject was found to be suitable for participation in the research project a package containing a letter further discussing the research, a map of Louisiana

⁴ In spite of the fact that according to the law all public schools in the Louisiana School System were supposed to be desegregated, Experimenter A found this not to be the case. In the 1967-68 Louisiana School Directory schools were not listed as white or Negro schools. However, an asterisk identified those schools formerly listed as an all Negro school. When the experimenter visited some of the schools previously listed as all-Negro schools, he found that, perhaps the only white element in them were the white colors of the American flag! Therefore, the experimenter identified as desegregated schools those previously listed in the above mentioned directory as "all-white." Such schools were found to be "tokenly" desegregated.

State University, and a card for the subject to indicate his willingness to meet at the time and day set forth in the above mentioned letter was mailed. (Refer to Appendix B for a sample package.)

Second, some Negro students were contacted through the American Friends Service Committee of Baton Rouge, an organization well known and trusted by the Negro community. This procedure for contacting potential subjects had to be undertaken because out of the Negro students enrolled in desegregated schools, only a few answered the advertisements.⁵

The American Friends Service Committee has played an important role in the establishment of a desegregated school system

⁵ The difficulties in obtaining Negro subjects is illustrated by the following incident. A Negro teacher from one of the all-Negro high schools called to inquire about the research announced by the radio. He further explained that a few of his students were interested in participation but did not dare to do so perhaps out of fear of the unknown. Once the above teacher was informed about the nature of the research project he expressed a desire to cooperate. A meeting with him and a few Negro students from local desegregated schools was arranged. At the meeting a detailed description of the research project was explained. The Negro students, as well as the teacher, indicated that they were going to set up a meeting with Negro students in desegregated schools so as to encourage them to participate in the research. A few days later the teacher called and indicated that he was unable to arrange the meeting. "The Negro students do not want to participate because they fear that such participation might have some negative consequences for them. This year, for the first time they are participating in activities such as the school band, Glee Club, sports, and the like. They fear that if they participate in a racial study they might lose such privileges," the teacher said!!

in the Baton Rouge area, as well as throughout the State of Louisiana. Mr. Wade Mackie, the Director and a long-time friend of the investigator, contacted prominent Negro citizens in the Baton Rouge community who had children in desegregated schools. A meeting was arranged and the purpose of the research was fully explained. A group of Negro students was contacted by the prominent Negro citizens and referred to the investigator. The group of Negro citizens explained to the students that the present investigation was a racial study in which they could participate.

Once the Negro students had been contacted, a similar procedure to the one utilized with white subjects contacted by the radio was followed, that is, a package similar to the one described above was mailed.

Third, in spite of the above mentioned effort for contacting potential Negro subjects only a hand full of Negro students expressed their willingness to participate. Consequently, out of the group sent by the above mentioned committee of Negro citizens, two Negro students, one male and one female, were hired for contacting potential Negro subjects. They were paid \$10.00 each for their efforts. Once the Negro students had contacted the experimenter, a package was mailed.

Fourth, Mrs. Thomas Deiker, a teacher in a local desegregated high school, was utilized as an additional source in contacting white female students because not enough white females with limited experience in a desegregated school had volunteered.

Once the subjects suitability was established they were divided into the following categories:

A. Negro students with two years or less of experience in desegregated schools.

B. White students with two years or less of experience in desegregated schools.

C. Negro students with three years or more experience in desegregated schools.

D. White students with three years or more experience in desegregated schools.

The amount of experience in a desegregated school situation was established by the subject's self report in questionnaire A. This questionnaire consisted of 13 multiple choice items designed to assess socioeconomic characteristics of the subjects in addition to providing a baseline for determining the subject's length of experience in desegregated schools. For a sample of the questionnaire refer to Appendix C.

Experimental Apparatus and Tests

Several instruments were utilized so as to measure the following dependent variables: the racial attitudes of white and Negro subjects; the subject's physiological indicators of anxiety when confronted with the various "formal" and "informal" situations; and the self-reported anxiety level of the subjects. The instruments employed for assessing these dependent variables were:

I. The Keeler Polygraph, Model 6308. This instrument records three basic physio-behavioral indicators of emotional reaction; galvanic skin response, blood pressure, and respiration changes. The output data from the polygraph was analyzed following a method designed by the investigator because of the nonexistence of a method for quantifying polygraph data. This method consisted of a frequency count of the most significant indicators of emotional reaction as outlined by Ferguson (1966) and Reid and Inbau (1966). For respiration changes the most relevant indicators selected were:

1. Respiratory block. A brief stoppage in the respiratory process that could take place either during exhalation, inhalation or in between the inhalatory and exhalatory process.

2. Staircase suppression. A continued series of incomplete suppressions of respiration in the form of up-grade steps (never down).

3. Baseline rise. A rise of five seconds or more of the respiratory baseline.

4. Cycle changes. Any observable deviation of the frequency or amplitude from the subject's normal respiratory cycle.

The observable heart rate and blood pressure changes were divided into the following categories:

1. Frequency changes. This category was scored when the subject's pulsation (beats per minute) increased or decreased when compared to his normal rate.

2. Pressure changes. When a noticeable deviation in systolic or diastolic pressure occurred this category was recorded.

3. Changes in the dicrotic notch. The dicrotic notch is a normal phenomenon produced by a sudden and regular stoppage of the heart. The notch was always centered, by manipulating the instruments in the polygraph machine, so that the distance from the notch to the upper or lower limits of the curve remained constant. When an observable change in the relative position of the notch occurred this category was recorded.

4. Involuntary movements. At times some subjects reacted by tightening the arm muscles. This muscular reaction produced a clear deviation in the curve that was recorded under the present category of involuntary movements.

For scoring purposes three judges were employed after being thoroughly trained in detecting the above described changes. The judges were provided with a check list that outlined the different indicators of emotional reaction described above and instructed to note the occurrence of any of them in the polygraph record of the subjects. This procedure was done slide by slide for each of the subjects

in the experiment. The judges had no knowledge, or very little knowledge, about the slides or the subjects since they were identified by a number.

The notations for all judges were than pooled and averaged so as to obtain the mean number of indicators of emotional reaction for each subject to each of the slides. The range of possible indicators of anxiety for each slide varied from 0 to 11. For a more detailed explanation of the method refer to Appendix D.

Maybe at this point a brief observation about the Keeler Polygraph is called for. Although the Keeler Polygraph is a widely used instrument for recording physiological reactions both by criminologists and psychologists, it was the writer's experience that such an instrument should be used with caution. After consulting with an experienced psychologist in the measurement of physiological reactions, the writer became aware of the multiple artifacts that interfere in the recording of the subject's physiological reactions. It was so much so that the writer, in order not to bias the data, eliminated in its totality, the Galvonic Skin Response readings.

II. Two racial attitude scales, the Anti-Negro Scale and the Anti-White Scale, devised by Steckler (1957) were employed for measuring the racial attitudes of the subjects. These scales when used conjointly provide a reliable mean of reflecting the attitude of the subject toward both his

own race as well as the race in question (Shaw and Wright, 1967).

The Anti-White Scale consists of 18 independent items and measures the attitude toward whites while the Anti-Negro Scale is composed of 16 items and assesses the attitude toward Negroes. In each of the scales the subject is given six choices to answer an item. The choices are:

- +1 I agree a little
- +2 I agree pretty much
- +3 I agree very much
- 1 I disagree a little
- 2 I disagree pretty much
- 3 I disagree very much

The subject is to indicate his answer by placing the weight of the choice selected in front of the item. The instruments are scored by adding, algebraically, the weights assigned by the subject. Thus, his score can range from +54 to -54 in the Anti-White Scale and from +48 to -48 in the Anti-Negro Scale. The minus sign (-) sign stands for a better attitude or more positive attitude while the plus (+) sign stands for a more negative attitude toward the race in question. (For a sample of the scales refer to Appendix E and F).

III. The Self-Analysis Questionnaire devised by Spielberger and Gorsuch (1966) to measure the "state" and "trait" anxiety by paper-and-pencil means. These concepts are defined in the preliminary test manual as follows: State anxiety (A-State) is

conceptualized as a transitory condition of the organism that varies in intensity and fluctuates over time. This condition is characterized by subjective feelings of apprehension and heightened autonomic nervous system arousal. Trait anxiety (A-Trait) refers to relatively stable individual differences in anxiety proneness. That is, differences in the disposition or tendency to respond with elevations in the A-State to situations perceived as threatening. A-State and A-Trait are scored objectively by adding the weight assigned to each of the four choices provided. In each of the scales the weights of several items are inverted (The Self-Analysis Questionnaire is found in Appendix G.)

IV. A set of 2 X 2 color slides, prepared by the investigator by means of a 35-mm Argua C-3 camera, designed to portray in as lifelike a manner as possible formal and informal situations involving both races.

EXPERIMENTAL PROCEDURES

Slide Selection

Students posing for the photographed vicarious situations were selected for their teen-age appearance among a group who had not attended high school in the Baton Rouge area to avoid possible identification by the subjects. (The pictures were taken in a city located some 70 miles away from Baton Rouge. The students posing were all residents of that city.) A total of 54 slides taken of the vicarious situations were shown to a panel of judges composed of two

faculty members and four graduate students in the Psychology Department of Louisiana State University. Each slide was judged according to three criteria: (1) resemblance of the situation portrayed to a real life situation, (2) naturalness of the actors depicting the situation, (3) degree to which the situation approaches the "formal" and "informal" criteria defined above. Five-point scales ranging in the first two cases from high to low and "formal" to "informal" in the last case were used for quantifying the judge's response. Only those slides ranking highest on criteria 1 and 2 and clearly identifiable (no score less than 4 or more than 3 respectively) as "formal" and "informal" were selected. The scoring on each of the criteria for the slides that were selected is presented in Table 1.

The slides identified as "formal" or "informal" are not included in the text so as to safeguard the identity of the models. However, a brief description of the ten slides selected follows:

1. Informal- two high school students, a Negro boy and a white girl, facing each other and holding hands, in what seems to be the school playground.
2. Formal- a group of high school students, white and Negro, standing in line, not talking or interacting with one another, waiting to get inside a classroom building.
3. Informal- two high school students, a Negro boy and a white girl, sitting very close to each other, looking over the same notebook in a desegregated classroom situation.

TABLE 1
Mean Scores of Six Judges on Experimental
Slides Selected

| Slide Number | Criteria | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------|-------------|
| | Formal-Informal | Realistic | Naturalness |
| 1 | 5.0 | 3.5 | 4.1 |
| 2 | 2.2 | 5.0 | 3.8 |
| 3 | 4.1 | 3.0 | 4.2 |
| 4 | 2.4 | 4.8 | 4.4 |
| 5 | 2.7 | 4.0 | 3.8 |
| 6 | 5.0 | 4.6 | 2.6 |
| 7 | 3.8 | 4.0 | 4.2 |
| 8 | 2.9 | 4.0 | 4.2 |
| 9 | 2.0 | 4.6 | 3.2 |
| 10 | 4.8 | 5.0 | 4.0 |

4. Formal- a desegregated classroom scene. A white teacher is standing talking to a Negro student who is standing and facing him in front of the classroom.
5. Formal- a group of white and Negro girls sitting on a circle, in what seems to be the school playground.
6. Informal- a group of white and Negro students standing in a circle and cheering what seems to be a fight between a Negro boy and a white boy. The white boy is on the ground and the Negro boy is hitting him.
7. Informal- a Negro girl and a white boy holding hands in what seems to be a classroom scene.
8. Formal- a group of Negro girls on the background and a group of white girls in the foreground in the school playground.
9. Formal- a desegregated classroom scene. A white teacher is addressing the group of students.
10. Informal- a group of students standing in a circle cheering what seems to be a fight between a Negro and a white student. The Negro student is on the ground and the white student is hitting him.

Experimental Situation

The subjects were brought into the experimental room and handed a letter designed to convey as much information as possible about the nature and purpose of the research without violating the subject's naiveté. The formal decision of whether they were going to participate in the research or not was made after reading the information letter. If an adult accompanied the student, he or she was given the same information letter. On several occasions the experimenter showed the slides to the adult and went into more detail about the experiment. In such cases the adult was asked not to disclose the information

to the student. The subjects proceeded to sign a written contract, this contract assured them that no harm would come to them for participating in the research and that they were going to be paid \$2.50 for their cooperation. (Refer to Appendix H for information letter and contract form.)

The subject was then administered the Self-Analysis Questionnaire, A-State and A-Trait, and a brief questionnaire designed to assess the amount of experience in de-segregated schools. Once the questionnaires were completed the subject was brought into the experimental room and seated on a chair facing the projection screen. He was familiarized with the different apparatus in the room and told that the "polygraph" was going to be adjusted to him with the reassurance that the instrument was harmless. With female subjects Experimenter B adjusted the instruments.

Subjects were instructed, verbally, that they were going to see some slides about racial situations in a high school setting. The only thing they had to do was sit and look at the slides. They were also told that it was very important that they do not move or talk because the machine was so sensitive that any movement could produce artifacts in the recording.

Once base-line readings were taken, the slides were projected on the screen for a period of 15 seconds each, followed

by a 15-second blank slide in between the experimental slides. The order in which the slides were presented was the same as the one followed in the description of the slides listed above.

Following the slide presentation, the Self-Analysis Questionnaire, A-State only, and the Anti-White Scale and Anti-Negro Scale were administered. Once the subject completed all the tasks pertaining to the experiment he was given the \$2.50 in cash, or was told that such amount of money would be mailed within the next two weeks.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS

It was postulated in Hypothesis I that the racial attitudes of high school students with less experience in desegregated schools would differ from the racial attitudes of students with more experience in desegregated schools. However, it was anticipated that the null form of this hypothesis would be sustained.

In order to test Hypothesis I two separate three-way analyses of variance (Sex, Race, Experience) with eight subjects per cell (N64) were computed. Such separate analyses had to be undertaken due to the fact that the attitude toward whites as measured by the Anti-White Scale and the attitude toward Negroes as measured by the Anti-Negro Scale provided the experimenter with two distinctive dependent variables.

The 2 X 2 X 2 (Race, Sex, Experience) factorial analyses computed so as to test Hypothesis I is reported in Table 2. As can be noted from Table 2 there is a significant difference between Negro and white students, ($F = 12.1750$, $p .05$), and in the second order interaction effect of sex by experience ($F = 4.7430$, $p .05$). All other main effects, as well as second and third order interaction effects were non-significant at the pre-set .05 level of confidence.

Also from Table 2 it can be observed that the main interaction effect (Race,X Sex X Experience) was non-significant.

TABLE 2
 Analysis of Variance of the Anti-Negro Scale
 (N 64)

| Source | df | MS | F |
|----------------|----|---------|----------|
| Sex (A) | 1 | 1080.76 | 12.1750* |
| Race (B) | 1 | 3705.76 | |
| Experience (C) | 1 | 907.51 | |
| (A X B) | 1 | 31.64 | 4.7430* |
| (A X C) | 1 | 1434.51 | |
| (B X C) | 1 | 1030.64 | |
| (A X B X C) | 1 | 17.02 | |

*P < .05

TABLE 3
 Analysis of Variance: Anti-White Scale
 (N 64)

| Source | df | MS | F |
|----------------|----|--------|---|
| Sex (A) | 1 | 256.00 | |
| Race (B) | 1 | 637.56 | |
| Experience (C) | 1 | 9.00 | |
| (A X B) | 1 | 517.57 | |
| (A X C) | 1 | 1.00 | |
| (B X C) | 1 | 68.06 | |
| (A X B X C) | 1 | .07 | |

Note: There was no significant F test at the
 .05 level of confidence

This result indicates that the racial attitudes toward Negroes of high school students with less experience in desegregated schools does not differ significantly from the attitudes of students with more experience in desegregated schools.

The 2 X 2 X 2 (Race, Sex, Experience) analysis of variance employed for assessing racial attitudes toward whites is reported in Table 3. As can be observed in Table 3 no significant F test was reported at the pre-set .05 level of confidence.

In view of the results presented thus far Hypothesis I is rejected and the null form of this hypothesis is sustained. That is, the racial attitudes of high school students with two years or less of experience in desegregated schools does not differ significantly from that of those students with three years or more in desegregated schools.

Hypothesis II postulated that physiological indicators of anxiety will be greater in number when students are confronted with "informal" racial contact school situations than when confronted with "formal" situations.

Hypothesis III stated that physiological indicators of anxiety will bear a positive relation to the amount of experience of a student in a desegregated school situation. It was anticipated that the null form of this hypothesis was going to be sustained.

These two hypotheses stated above were tested by a

four-way factorial design (Race, Sex, Experience, Slide situation) with repeated measures on one factor. The dependent variable in the factorial design was the indicator of emotional reactions, as measured by the polygraph, to the slide presentation of the "formal" and "informal" variety. The independent variables were slide situations, sex, race, and amount of experience in a desegregated school. The four independent variables were fixed and the reaction to the slide situation (Formal, Informal) was the factor with repeated measures. A summary of this analysis is presented in Table 4.

As can be observed in Table 4 the only significant effect at the pre-set .05 level of confidence is the slide main effect (formal \bar{x} = 12.25; informal \bar{x} = 10.00). All other main effects, second, third, and fourth order interaction effects were found to be non-significant.

Therefore, Hypothesis II is accepted, Hypothesis III is rejected, and the null form of this hypothesis is sustained as anticipated.

Hypothesis IV anticipated that Negro females will tend to respond with more physiological indicators of anxiety than will Negro males when responding to vicarious "informal" situations.

The mean number of indicators of anxiety for Negro males when confronted with the "informal" situations was 11.05 and for Negro females 12.64. By inspection it can be observed

TABLE 4

Four Way Analysis of Variance with Repeated Measures
in the Last Factor (Slide Situation) for Mean
Emotional Indicators to Experimental Situation

(N 64)

| Source | df | MS | F |
|-----------------|----|--------|--------|
| Sex (A) | 1 | .01 | 23.87* |
| Race (B) | 1 | 72.53 | |
| Experience (C) | 1 | .55 | |
| Slides (D) | 1 | 148.46 | |
| (A X B) | 1 | 6.84 | |
| (A X C) | 1 | 2.62 | |
| (B X C) | 1 | 40.94 | |
| (C X D) | 1 | 4.12 | |
| (B X D) | 1 | 15.78 | |
| (A X D) | 1 | 17.84 | |
| (A X B X C) | 1 | .64 | |
| (A X C X D) | 1 | 19.32 | |
| (A X B X D) | 1 | 4.62 | |
| (A X B X C X D) | 1 | 6.22 | |

* $P < .05$

that there was hardly any noticeable difference between the mean score of Negro males and Negro females when confronted with vicarious informal situations. Consequently, Hypothesis IV is rejected.

Hypothesis V stated that high school students with two or more years of experience in desegregated schools when confronted with "formal" and "informal" slides would show an increase in anxiety, state variety. It was anticipated that the null form of Hypothesis V would be sustained.

Hypothesis V was tested by computing a three-way (Race, Sex, Experience) analysis of variance with eight subjects per cell (N64). A summary of this analysis is presented in Table 5.

As can be noted in Table 5 there is no significant F test reported at the pre-set .05 level of confidence. Therefore, Hypothesis V is rejected and the null form of this hypothesis accepted.

TABLE 5

Analysis of Variance of Mean Score Difference
Between First and Second Administration to
the "State" Scale

(N 64)

| Source | df | MS | F |
|----------------|----|-------|---|
| Sex (A) | 1 | 28.89 | |
| Race (B) | 1 | 40.64 | |
| Experience (C) | 1 | .77 | |
| (A X B) | 1 | 47.26 | |
| (A X C) | 1 | 28.89 | |
| (B X C) | 1 | 2.64 | |
| (A X B X C) | 1 | 4.52 | |

Note: There was no significant F test at the
.05 level of confidence

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION

The purpose of the present investigation was to assess the racial attitudes of white and Negro high school students with two years or less and three years or more of experience in desegregated schools in a deep south metropolitan area. In addition to assessing the student's racial attitudes by employing traditional paper-and-pencil attitude scales, a more behavioristic approach was also used. That is, the student's racial attitude was also assessed by recording his emotional reactions to inter-racial contact situations, of a "formal" and "informal" variety as portrayed by a series of color slides. In a sense, such approach deviates from the typical racial attitude study in as much as not only the cognitive aspects of racial attitudes were measured but also the non-verbal feelings about racial interactions were tapped. It was anticipated that by employing this combination of the cognitive aspects as well as the feeling aspects of racial attitudes a more comprehensive understanding of what Negro and white high school students enrolled in desegregated schools feel and think about each other could be obtained.

In order to accomplish these goals several hypotheses were postulated and tested.

Hypothesis I dealt with the racial attitudes of high school students, as measured by paper-and-pencil racial attitude scales. Although it was postulated in Hypothesis I

that there would be a difference between the racial attitudes of students with less experience in a desegregated school and students with more experience in a desegregated school situation, it was anticipated that the null form of this hypothesis would be sustained.

Hypothesis I was tested and the results presented in Chapter V. As indicated in Chapter V Hypothesis I was rejected, due to lack of supportive evidence, and the null form of this hypothesis was accepted. Therefore, in view of the present evidence, it can be concluded that the racial attitudes of high school students, both Negro and white, with less experience in desegregated schools does not differ from the attitude of students with more experience in desegregated schools.

This conclusion seems to be in agreement with the results of previous experiments that dealt with the same issue of attitudinal changes as a result of experience in desegregated schools (Lombardi, 1962; Webster, 1966). Lombardi concluded that after nine months of exposure to desegregated schools white and Negro high school students did not experience significant change in their racial attitudes. Webster also reached the same conclusion although he only assessed attitudinal changes over a six-month period. Webster indicated that perhaps his study failed to detect any change in racial attitude because the length of exposure to desegregated schools was too brief. However, in view of the results obtained by the present investigation it seems feasible to assume

that the length of exposure per se does not lead to attitudinal changes. Perhaps, if the length of exposure is coupled with other changes in the desegregated situation then a change in the racial attitude of high school students could be observed. Webster delineated some of the possible requirements for successful racial contacts that could possibly lead to changes in racial attitudes. The requirements postulated were:

1. Equal status of participants in the situation
2. Contact of sufficient duration and intimacy
3. Sanction or support of higher authorities

In the present investigation in order to assess racial attitudes from a feeling level three distinct hypotheses were postulated. Hypothesis II stated that physiological indicators of anxiety would be greater in number when students are confronted with "informal" racial contact situations than when confronted with "formal" situations. Hypothesis III postulated that physiological indicators of anxiety will bear a positive relation to the amount of experience of a student in a desegregated school situation. It was anticipated that the null form of this hypothesis would be sustained. Hypothesis IV anticipated that Negro girls would tend to respond with more physiological indicators of anxiety than will Negro males when responding to vicarious "informal" situations.

Hypothesis II, III, and IV were tested and the results were presented in Chapter V. As can be observed in Chapter V, Hypothesis II was accepted. Thus, it can be concluded that the present sample of high school students responded with greater number of physiological indicators of emotional reaction when confronted with "informal" racial contact situations than when confronted with "formal" racial contact situations. A feasible explanation for this fact might be that the present structure of the desegregated schools in the southern metropolitan area where the study was concluded does not allow ample opportunity for the resolution of anxiety produced by more intimate (informal) inter-racial contact situations. Such hypothesis finds partial support in Webster's (1966) statement that for attitudinal changes to occur inter-racial contacts much not only be of sufficient duration but also of greater intimacy. Additional support is provided by Dwyer's (1958) findings that the smoothness of desegregation at the lower grade levels is due to the fact that at lower grade levels more informal and intimate associations between Negro and white students takes place.

Hypothesis III was rejected and the null form of this hypothesis was accepted. Consequently it can be concluded that the length of exposure to desegregated school situations does not lead to a reduction of the emotional reactions to interracial contacts of "formal" or "informal" variety.

Hypothesis IV was also rejected. There was no observable difference between the way Negro male and Negro female students reacted, physiologically, when confronted with racial contact situations of the "formal" and "informal" variety.

In order to assess the anxiety of students, by means of a paper-and-pencil anxiety scale, to the experimental situation (presentation of vicarious "formal" and "informal" slides) Hypothesis V was postulated. It stated that the exposure of high school students to two or more academic years in desegregated schools would result in a positive increase of anxiety, state variety, when confronted with "formal" and "informal" slide situations. It was anticipated that the null form of this hypothesis would be sustained.

From the results presented in Chapter V, Hypothesis V was rejected and the null form of this hypothesis was accepted. That is, two or more years of experience in desegregated schools did not account for an increase in the anxiety level of the students, state variety, when confronted with the experimental situation.

In summary, several conclusions can be ascertained from the present investigation. First, there is no significant difference in the cognitive racial attitudes of high school students with two years or less and three years or more of experience in desegregated schools. Second, the length of exposure to desegregated schools does not lead to a reduction

of racial attitudes held at a deeper feeling level by high school students. Third, inter-racial contact situations of a "formal" variety produce less amounts of emotional reaction than inter-racial contact situations of an "informal" variety. Fourth, Negro students of both sexes reacted, emotionally, in similar manners to "informal" and "formal" vicarious slide situations. Fifth, the state anxiety level of high school students in desegregated schools did not experience any significant difference when confronted with experimental racial contact situations of the "formal" or "informal" variety.

The above stated conclusions are only pertinent to the present investigation. They are restricted by the limitations of the study as well as by the assumptions stated in Chapter II. Limitations such as sample size, method of obtaining research subjects, method of analyzing physiological reactions, among others, restrict, to some extent, further generalizations and conclusions.

These five conclusions are very much restricted to the present school desegregated situation of the southern metropolitan area where the study was conducted. However, it is probable that the same conclusions would apply to other school districts in other areas similar in many respects to the area where the study was conducted.

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APPENDIX A
PRELIMINARY INFORMATION

No. _____

Please complete the information requested below. Once you have answered all the questions mail it as soon as possible. Make use of the self addressed envelope provided. If there is any question do not hesitate to call 343-7330. Thanks.

Your name _____
 FIRST LAST

Your address _____

The name of your school _____

Public _____ or Private _____

Grade _____

How long have you been attending the above school? _____

Name of previous school attended _____

Your age _____

Your sex _____

Your race _____

Indicate the day and time of the week that you are available for 2 hours or more.

Monday _____

Tuesday _____

Wednesday _____

Thursday _____

Friday _____

Saturday _____

Sunday _____

APPENDIX B

Psychology Department
Louisiana State University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana
September 18, 1968

Dear :

Thank you very much for inquiring about the research project that I am conducting. It is my pleasure to inform you that you have been selected from a group of high school students who responded to the ads in the radio and newspaper, as a participant in a psychological research. I will be very glad to explain to you the nature of the experiment when we get together. I will also explain it to your parents, if so desired. At this point I can tell you that it does not involve drugs or hypnosis. The research deals mainly with human relations.

I am sure that you will find the experience of participating in a scientific investigation rewarding and enriching. Not only will you be rewarded in such a way but also economically. I will be able to provide you with some spending money for your cooperation. The whole investigation will take but a few hours.

I will expect you at _____ the _____ of _____. The place is Peabody Hall 122 at Louisiana State University. Enclosed is a map of LSU that will help you in locating my office.

Thank you very much,

Antonio Martinez-Monfort

P.S. Please fill out the card provided and mail it as soon as possible. Do not hesitate to call if you need any additional information. My number is 343-7330.

APPENDIX B (cont.)

Sample of Self-addressed Returned Card

Name _____

No. _____

1. I will be able to attend our meeting

Yes _____ No _____

2. If the answer was no, please indicate
when in the near future you can come.

Day _____ Time _____

APPENDIX C
QUESTIONNAIRE A

No. _____

Complete the questionnaire below. Answer every question. If you have any doubt about a particular question let us know.

1. Race

- a. White
- b. Negro
- c. Other

2. Age

- a. 13
- b. 14
- c. 15
- d. 16
- e. 17
- f. over 17

3. Sex

- a. Male
- b. Female

4. I am

- a. enrolled as a full-time student in a high school in Baton Rouge
- b. enrolled as a part-time student in a high school in Baton Rouge
- c. I am not a high school student at this moment

5. I have

- a. always attended "all-white" schools until recently
- b. always attended "all-Negro" schools until recently
- c. always attended desegregated schools

6. The first time I was in a desegregated classroom situation was,

- a. one year ago
- b. two years ago
- c. three years ago
- d. over three years ago

Appendix C, Questionnaire A cont.

7. Most of my friends are

- a. Negroes
- b. Whites

8. I have been attending desegregated schools for:

- a. this is my first year in a desegregated school
- b. this is my second year in a desegregated school
- c. this is my third year in a desegregated school
- d. this is my fourth year in a desegregated school
- e. I have been more than four years in a desegregated school

9. I go to a

- a. private school
- b. public school

10. I have always attended schools in the South of the United States.

- a. Yes
- b. No

If your answer was no, please indicate when, in what state and if the school was a desegregated, an "all-white" or an "all-Negro" type of school.

When _____

Where (state) _____

Type of school (all-white, etc.) _____

11. Some of my teachers have been Negroes

- a. Yes
- b. No

12. The first time I had a Negro as a teacher was in:

- a. high school
- b. junior high
- c. elementary school
- d. never had a Negro teacher

Appendix C, Questionnaire A cont.

7. Most of my friends are

- a. Negroes
- b. Whites

8. I have been attending desegregated schools for:

- a. this is my first year in a desegregated school
- b. this is my second year in a desegregated school
- c. this is my third year in a desegregated school
- d. this is my fourth year in a desegregated school
- e. I have been more than four years in a desegregated school

9. I go to a

- a. private school
- b. public school

10. I have always attended schools in the South of the United States.

- a. Yes
- b. No

If your answer was no, please indicate when, in what state and if the school was a desegregated, an "all-white" or an "all-Negro" type of school.

When _____

Where (state) _____

Type of school (all-white, etc.) _____

11. Some of my teachers have been Negroes

- a. Yes
- b. No

12. The first time I had a Negro as a teacher was in:

- a. high school
- b. junior high
- c. elementary school
- d. never had a Negro teacher

Appendix C, Questionnaire A cont.

13. I have had

- a. less than 5 Negro teachers
- b. more than 5 Negro teachers
- c. no Negro as a teacher

APPENDIX D

Polygraph Scoring Method

Among the wide variety of indicators of emotional reaction as recorded by the polygraph (Reid & Inbau, 1966; Ferguson, 1966) those who were thought to be most reliable were selected for scoring purposes in the present investigation. They were as follows:

Respiration

1. Respiratory Block. A stoppage in the respiratory process. It could either occur during the inhalatory stage, exhalatory stage or in between (see diagrams). In some individuals it lasted for only a few seconds (3 sec.) while in others it continued for up to 20 seconds.



1a. Respiratory block during exhalation.



1b. Respiratory block during inhalation.



1c. Respiratory block in between the inhalatory and exhalatory process.

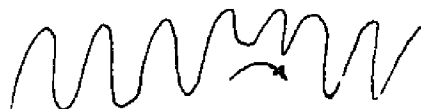
2. Staircase Suppression. A continued series of incomplete suppressions of respiration in the form of up grade steps (never down). Less than three steps was not considered significant. For some subjects the increment between steps was rather abrupt while in others it was rather smooth.



2a. Staircase Suppression

Appendix D cont.

3. Respiration Baseline Rise. Respiration baseline is a rather stable phenomenon. The present category was only considered when the subject, for a period of five seconds or more, underwent a rise in the baseline. However, since frequently "baseline rise" occurred hand in hand with a staircase suppression only the staircase was recorded in those cases.



3a. Illustration of Baseline rise

4. Cycle Change. Any observable deviation from the subject's normal respiratory cycle was recorded under this category. Cycle changes were of three variety; frequency (slow, fast), and emplitude.

Frequency changes,

a. Slower cycle



b. Faster cycle



Amplitude changes (heavier breathing)

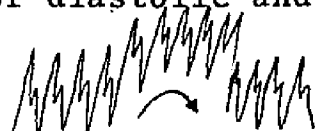


Heart Rate and Blood Pressure

1. Frequency changes. In cases where the subject's pulsation (beats per minute) increased or decreased when compared to his normal rate, this category was scored. The formula used was:

$$\text{Beats X Minute} = a \times 12 \quad - \quad \text{where } a \text{ was the beats in five seconds}$$

2. Pressure changes. They were divided into two categories; diastolic changes and systolic changes. As indicated by Dr. Miller, such pressure changes were more likely due to a vasomotor constriction or expansion. Also in this category were recorded any combination of diastolic and systolic change.



2a. Diastolic



2b. Systolic

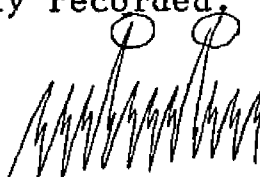
Appendix D cont.

3. Changes in Dicrotic notch. The dicrotic notch produced by a sudden and regular stoppage of the heart, was always centered so that the distance from the notch to the upper and lower part of the curve remained as constant as possible. When any observable change in the relative position of the notch occurred, when compared to the subject's norm, this category was scored.



3a. Dicrotic notch change

4. Involuntary movement. At times a subject would react by tightening his arm muscles thus provoking an irregularity in the heart wave. Such involuntary movement was considered to be significant emotional reactions of the subject to the experimental stimuli. Nevertheless, this category was rarely recorded.



4a Involuntary movement

Scoring Procedure

A total of three independent scores were employed and paid \$1.50 an hour for their assistance. The experimenter served as one of the scorers and the other scorers were a senior in Law School and a senior in Psychology, both enrolled at Louisiana State University. The scorers were instructed in the theory of the scoring method and received ten hours training, conducted by the experimenter. They were provided with a frequency check list so as to record the presence in each of the slides of any of the categories outlined above.

The reaction of each subject to each of the slides was indicated by noting the frequency of appearance of each of the categories outlined above. The notations of all the scores were then pooled and averaged so as to obtain a mean of emotional indicators. The possible number of indicators of emotional reaction per slide ranged from 0 to 11.

APPENDIX E

ATTITUDE SCALE NO. 1

This is a study of what people think about a number of social questions. The best answer to each statement below is YOUR PERSONAL OPINION. We have tried to cover many different points of view. You may agree strongly with some statements, disagree just as strongly with others, and perhaps be uncertain about others. Whether you agree or disagree with any statement, you can be sure that many other people feel the same way you do.

Please mark each statement in the left margin according to how much you agree or disagree with it. Please mark every one. Write +1, +2, +3, or -1, -2, -3, depending on how you feel in each case.

- +1 I agree a little
- +2 I agree pretty much
- +3 I agree very much
- 1 I disagree a little
- 2 I disagree pretty much
- 3 I disagree very much

- _____ A large part of the problems facing Negroes today are caused by Negroes themselves.
- _____ I would rather not marry a person with very kinky hair, wide nostril, and thick lips.
- _____ The lower class Negro is to blame for a lot of anti-Negro prejudice.
- _____ Whites and Negroes can get along on jobs until too many Negroes try to push themselves in.
- _____ One big reason why racial prejudice is still so strong is that Negroes offend people by being so sensitive about racial problems.
- _____ One important reason why Negroes are discriminated against in housing is that they don't keep up the property.
- _____ One reason why racial prejudice still exists today is the fact that many Negroes are dirty, loud, and generally offensive in their ways.
- _____ One trouble with Negroes is that they are even more jealous of each other's success than are whites.

Appendix E cont.

- _____ Too many Negroes have abused the privilege of attending baseball games by being rowdy, noisy, and cheering only for the colored ballplayers.
- _____ Segregation and Jimcrow will never end unless the average colored person becomes better educated and better mannered.
- _____ Colored people can hardly be expected to gain social equality until many more of them exert some effort to better themselves and live more decently.
- _____ With all the drinking, cutting, and other immoral acts of some Negroes, white people are almost justified for being prejudiced.
- _____ Too many Negroes, when they get a little money, spend it all on whiskey, flashy cars, or expensive clothes.
- _____ One is almost ashamed to be a Negro when he sees so many of them who look and act like cotton pickers fresh from the fields.
- _____ A great many Negroes become officious, overbearing, and disagreeable when given positions of responsibility and authority.
- _____ Negroes would solve many of their social problems if so many of them were not irresponsible, lazy and ignorant.

APPENDIX F
ATTITUDE SCALE NO. 11

No. _____

This is a study of what people think about a number of social questions. The best answer to the questions below is YOUR PERSONAL OPINION. We have tried to cover many different points of view. You may agree strongly with some statements, disagree just as strongly with others, and perhaps be uncertain about others. Whether you agree or disagree with any statement, you can be sure that many other people feel the same way that you do.

Please mark each statement in the left margin according to how much you agree or disagree with it. Please mark every one. Write +1, +2, +3, or -1, -2, -3, depending on how you feel in each case.

+1 I agree a little
+2 I agree pretty much
+3 I agree very much

-1 I disagree a little
-2 I disagree pretty much
-3 I disagree very much

- _____ There is nothing lower than white trash.
- _____ White people may be all right, but they carry it too far when they try to butt into the Negro's affair and go around with Negro women.
- _____ The whites have shown by their actions that they are naturally immoral, vicious and untrustworthy.
- _____ No matter how nicely they treat a colored person, white people don't really mean it.
- _____ It is usually a mistake to trust a white person.
- _____ Any Negro who marries a white is a traitor to his people.
- _____ There may be a few exceptions, but white musicians and athletes are definitely inferior to Negro musicians and athletes.
- _____ White people are only friendly to Negroes when they want something out of them.
- _____ Negroes can expect no real help from white people in the fight against racial discrimination.

Appendix F cont.

- _____ Most white people are always looking for ways to cheat and steal from the colored people.
- _____ The colored race has been pushed around long enough; it's about time that the whites were made to get out of the Negro communities.
- _____ If there is a Heaven, it is hard to imagine that there are many white people up there.
- _____ Although the white man now rules the world, it will be a happy day when the tables are turned and the colored people become the rulers.
- _____ The world might be a better place if there were fewer white people.
- _____ When the Bible says, "The bottom shall rise to the top", it gives hope that the Negro people will someday give the orders in this country instead of whites.
- _____ It may be wrong to damn all whites, but it's plain that whites have all the money and power, and they look down on anyone who is colored.
- _____ There are many white people who are not prejudiced and who sincerely believe that Negroes are equal.
- _____ When it comes to such things as sports, dancing, music, and making love, the white man is not as talented as the Negro.

APPENDIX G
STATE-ANXIETY
Self-Analysis Questionnaire
FORM B-1

Name _____

Date _____

DIRECTIONS: A number of statements which people have used to describe themselves are given below. Read each statement and then circle the appropriate number to the right of the statement to indicate how you feel right now, that is, at this moment.

There are no right or wrong answers. Do not spend too much time on any one statement, but give the answer which seems to describe your present feelings best.

| | <u>Not at all</u> | <u>Some- what</u> | <u>Moderat- ely So</u> | <u>Very Much So</u> |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Right now I feel calm | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 2. I feel secure at the moment . . | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 3. I am presently worrying over some possible misfortunes . . . | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 4. At this time I feel that I am a steady person | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 5. I feel regretful at the moment | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 6. I feel upset | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 7. I am worrying about some- thing right now | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 8. At the present time I feel rested | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 9. I feel tense and anxious | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

Appendix G cont.

| | <u>Not at all</u> | <u>Some- what</u> | <u>Moderat- ely So</u> | <u>Very Much So</u> |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 10. At the moment I feel free of guilt | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 11. I feel "high strung" | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 12. Right now I feel that I am no good at all | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 13. I feel I am about to go to pieces | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 14. I presently feel self-confi- cent | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 15. At this moment I feel happy. . | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 16. I feel content | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 17. I am worried right now | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 18. I presently feel over- excited and "rattled!!" | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 19. I feel joyful at the moment. . | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 20. I feel pleasant. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

APPENDIX G (cont.)

TRAIT-ANXIETY

Self-Analysis Questionnaire

FORM B-2

Name _____

Date _____

DIRECTIONS: A number of statements which people have used to describe themselves are given below. Read each statement and then circle the appropriate number to the right of the statement to indicate how you generally feel.

There are no right or wrong answers. Do not spend too much time on any one statement but give the answer which seems to describe how you generally feel.

| | <u>Not at all</u> | <u>Some- what</u> | <u>Moderat- ely So</u> | <u>Very Much So</u> |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. I tire quickly | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 2. I feel like crying | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 3. I wish I could be as happy as others seem to be | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 4. I am losing out on things because I can't make up my mind soon enough | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 5. If I had my life to live over again, I would want it the same | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 6. I am "calm, cool and collec- ted. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 7. I feel that difficulties are piling up so that I cannot overcome them | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

Appendix G (cont.)
 Trait-Anxiety

| | <u>Not at all</u> | <u>Some- what</u> | <u>Moderat- ely So</u> | <u>Very Much So</u> |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 8. I worry beyond reason over something that really doesn't matter | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 9. I feel useless | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 10. I am inclined to take things hard. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 11. Life is a strain for me. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 12. I lack self-confidence. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 13. I shrink from facing a crisis or difficulty | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 14. I feel blue. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 15. I do (have done) many things which I regret. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 16. I brood. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 17. Some unimportant thought runs through my mind and bothers me | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 18. I take disappointments so keenly that I can't put them out of my mind. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 19. I feel tired | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 20. I get in a state of tension or turmoil as I think over my recent concerns and interests. . | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

APPENDIX H
GENERAL INFORMATION

No. _____

Hello,

Allow me to thank you for the interest you have shown in this research project. I am sure that you will find this experience very rewarding.

By now you probably have many questions that need answering. Questions such as: "What is all this about?" "What do I have to do?" "How much am I going to get paid?" etc. Perhaps you have still many more. It is not my intention to keep you puzzled. I will try to answer some of those questions now. I am sure I will not be able to answer all the ones that you may be thinking of, but I will be delighted to answer any other one that you might have once we have finished our experiment. This I do because if you have a great amount of knowledge about the research some of your answers will be biased by this knowledge.

The project you may be about to participate in is one of the academic steps that I have to master in order to obtain a Ph.D. We call it a "Dissertation". Every student in order to be granted such a degree must conduct an original investigation that will increase knowledge in his chosen branch of study. My research project deals with human relations.

It is my purpose to learn more about the relationship between races at the High School level. In order to accomplish this investigation you will answer tests (questionnaires) and look at some pictures (color slides) of various school situations. While you are looking at these pictures, a machine, called a "polygraph" will be recording some of your reactions to the slides. I can assure you that there is no danger involved in the experiment.

This research project is under the direct supervision of the Psychology Department at L.S.U., and it is being partly sponsored by a grant from the Graduate School Research Council.

You may have already noticed that there is a number at the top of this page, (the same as the one on the card you mailed back). From the moment you made contact with us over the telephone, until the time when the research is completed you will be identified by this number. We urge you to memorize

Appendix H (cont.)

it. From now on DO NOT WRITE YOUR NAME in any of the questionnaires given to you. Write only the above number. We do this in order to protect your identity. No one but you and I will know what this number stands for.

It is my expectation that everything will take about one hour. For your cooperation you will be paid \$2.50. As you can see, this money is not much, but the experience in participating in such an important research project as this one will be in itself very rewarding.

As my wife probably told you over the telephone, this is a two part project. The second part will take place around April. If you are selected to participate again next semester I will again appreciate your cooperation. The things that you will have to do, and the pay, will be about the same as now.

I am sure by now you have an idea of what it is all about. If you are still interested in participating, please indicate so by signing in the space provided below.

If for any personal reason you have decided not to participate thank you very much anyway. I appreciate the interest that you have shown.

Antonio Martinez-Monfort

I understand that I will participate in a research project conducted by Mr. Antonio Martinez-Monfort, a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Psychology. I have been assured that the research project is under the direct supervision of the Psychology Department at L.S.U.

Having understood that this is a serious scientific investigation and that there is no physical danger involved, I, the undersigned will devote about one hour of my time to it. For this I will be paid the amount of \$2.50 once I have completed the tasks assigned.

Date

Signature

VITA

Antonio Martinex-Monfort was born in Havana, Cuba on June 24, 1944. For political reasons, in August, 1959, he left Cuba and migrated to Puerto Rico. There he graduated with honors from Colegio San Ignacio de Loyola in 1961, and from the Universidad de Puerto Rico in 1966 where he was awarded a B.A. degree, cum laude. In 1967 he received an M.A. degree from Louisiana State University. A few months later he married Elizabeth Amiguet, who at the present time is expecting their first child.

EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

Candidate: Antonio Martinez-Monfort

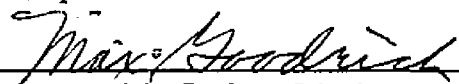
Major Field: Psychology

Title of Thesis: Racial Attitudes of High School Students Attending
Desegregated Schools in a Southern Metropolitan Area.

Approved:

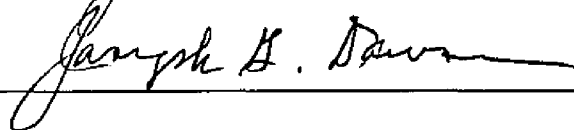
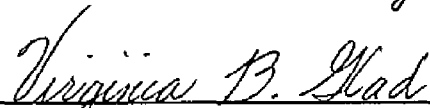
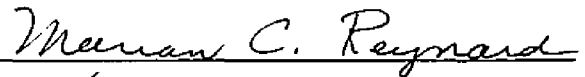
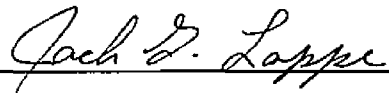
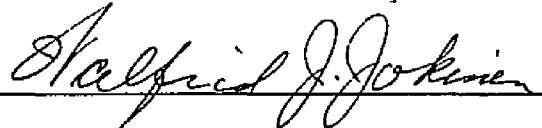


Major Professor and Chairman



Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:



Date of Examination:

10 February 1970